

About the suspension of Civil Disobedience by Mr. Gandhi in 1933. Pandit Nehru Writes: "the reason he had given seemed to me an insult to intelligence and an amazing performance for the leader of a national movement." But in the same breath he says that Mr. Gandhi had acted rightly in spite of that. Again, regarding Mr. Gandhi's fast in 1933 Pandit Nehru says: "I had struggled against my utter disapproval of his act and my desire not to hurt him". After shaking himself up and overcoming the struggle, he wired to Mr. Gandhi, "I feel more clearly now that whatever happens it is well, and whatever happens you win." About a year back when the Mahatma received a 'divine' command for launching on a fast, Pandit Nehru, according to A.P.I. reports, completely endorsed the idea, emphasising the appropriateness and utility of a fast at that juncture. But the Mahatma himself did not venture upon that uncertain game, either for want of clarity of the 'inner voice' about the date, or due the difficulty of living on salt water or on account of better wisdom. When a person of the type of Pandit Jawaharlal is not immune from the irrational faith in a leader, the blindness of the lesser luminaries and the common folk need no longer surprise us.

Blind Faith.

Congress itself presents several classic examples to show how blind faith defeats settled convictions. In 1938 there was the Presidential election at Haripur. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose and Dr. Pattabhi Sita Ramayya were the candidates for the Presidential Gadi. Everyone knows what happened then. Mr. Bose, by the bold lead he had given to Congress during the preceding year and by virtue of the more vational nature of his appeal to the youthful minds, came out successful in the election. Mr. Gandhi, during the period of this election campaign enshrouded himself in a protentously profound silence. For once Congress Delegates voted, obeying the dictates of their own reason and good conscience. But Mr. Gandhi, sorely vexed at the outcome of the election, which fact he did not conceal from others, came out with a statement that Dr.

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Pattabhi was his candidate and Gandhi scores in his political game. that his defeat was tantamount to his (Mr. Gandhi's) own defeat. The Delegates who had duly elected Mr. Bose as President by exercising their democratic right of voting, were flabbergasted. The cry went forth from among them "if only we knew this beforehand!" They realised that it was a folly to have exercised their own individual and independent judgement. Tables were turned overnight Mr. Bose woke up to find himself faced with the imminent danger of a vote of non-confidence. Forces had mustered strong against him. Thus he was 'non-violently' compelled to resign.

This is the sort of Democracy one finds in Congress. A person who is not even a primary member of Congress is still holding dictatorial powers over it. Congress Delegates who are supposed to be the cream of the country's intelligentsia are swayed by their sentiments for the personality of a man and not guided by their own individual convictions. They readily allowed their sentiments to veto their rational judgement.

Melodrama.

It is to be admitted, of course, to the credit of Mr. Gandhi that he knows the psychology of the Hindu masses. He can touch the right string at the right time for producing the sound he wants. He knows the value of melodrama in Indian politics. He catches the popular gaze by his melodramatic performances of hunger-strikes and fast-unto-death. He scores an easy victory over the credulous idolatrous minds of the masses by his carefully-conceived sensation-mongering. His Rajkot fast was a cheap device to divert the attention of the people from the burning problem of the day, namely the conflict between the Right and the Left in Congress, which reached a critical stage and in which victory seemed uncertain for the former. The dumb masses with their dummy leaders turned their eyes to that unknown spot in Kathiawar, and with dramatic suddenness Mr Bose was hurled off his Presidential chair. All was well afterwards. This is one of the ways in which Mr.

Where independent thinking is not encouraged, where sentiment takes the place of reason, where idolatry can oust convictions, how can the democratic spirit survive? The mention of the word idolatry brings to mind one curious fact. Many persons among the Hindus actually worship Mr. Gandhi in the right ceremonial form. There are many in India even among the educated persons who keep images or portraits of Mr. Gandhi in their houses and worship him like one of their innumerable gods. Atleast in one province, viz the Central Provinces, schoolmasters and school children were ordered by the Congress ministry to worship Mr. Gandhi's portrait on the occasion of his birth day.

As soon as a vational hero is deified he ceases to have a vational appeal for his fellow beings. His very name is shrouded in a sort of fanatical faith and superstitious reverence. No one hear of a national hero having ever been deified in England or worshipped by Englishmen. Perhaps that is the reason why Democracy can still survive on English Soil.

No Faith

The relation between Mr. Gandhi and the Congress is a strange one. I don't mean the glaring fact that Mr. Gandhi who is not even an ordinary member of that body is yet virtually its dictator. What I mean is that Congress, that is to say the great majority of the persons representing Congress have no faith in the Gandhian doctrine. They have to the great chagrin and discomfiture of Mr. Gandhi, declared it is the well-known Wardha Resolution. Congress knows that its convictions and ideals are fundamentally different from those of Mr. Gandhi's. It is doubtful that it has got faith even in his political wisdom. Yet it cannot do without him. He is simply indispensable if they want to play upon the mass mind and work it up to excitement. So, in spite of the final rupture of Mr. Gandhi with Congress and the severance of his connection with it; when Congress thought of direct action,

they were compelled to bow before him and call him back. And Mr. Gandhi will never let go an opportunity to play his favourite game of making the Hindu masses dance to his tune like performing bears in a circus.

"Mahatma Magician"

If Congress depended upon their rational hold on the popular mind, where was the necessity to have the services of the 'Mahatma Magician'? A reasonable thing does not become less reasonable when uttered by a less saintly man. So it is clear that the Congress is not depending on reason for its support but something else. A party which has got a rationally sound and workable programme, which it is sure will be accepted by the people, has little need for a saint to lead it.

In a democratic country or a country aspiring for democracy there is no place for saints in politics, Mr. Gandhi is the one living argument against democracy in India. It appears as though we are trying to buy political independence at the cost of intellectual and moral independence. How long things can go on like this, it is difficult to say. But certain it is that so long will India be not ripe for Democracy.

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be free from foreign aggression, but we are not prepared to live as slaves." The Congress attitude, on the other hand as expressed by Mr. Gandhi, was that if Hitler invaded India we should go and do *namaskar* to him."

Regarding the release of political prisoners he said if Government released political prisoners and detenus belonging to only one political party or community they would be creating trouble for themselves.

The Nawabzada concluded his speech by stating, "Muslim India expects every Massalman to do his duty."